

For a
workers'
government

Solidarity

For social ownership of the banks and industry

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www.workersliberty.org

LET THEM IN!



See page 5

What is the Alliance for Workers' Liberty?

Today one class, the working class, lives by selling its labour power to another, the capitalist class, which owns the means of production. Society is shaped by the capitalists' relentless drive to increase their wealth. Capitalism causes poverty, unemployment, the blighting of lives by overwork, imperialism, the destruction of the environment and much else.

Against the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalists, the working class has one weapon: solidarity.

The Alliance for Workers' Liberty aims to build solidarity through struggle so that the working class can overthrow capitalism. We want socialist revolution: collective ownership of industry and services, workers' control and a democracy much fuller than the present system, with elected representatives recallable at any time and an end to bureaucrats' and managers' privileges.

We fight for the labour movement to break with "social partnership" and assert working-class interests militantly against the bosses.

Our priority is to work in the workplaces and trade unions, supporting workers' struggles, producing workplace bulletins, helping organise rank-and-file groups.

We are also active among students and in many campaigns and alliances.

We stand for:

- Independent working-class representation in politics.
- A workers' government, based on and accountable to the labour movement.
- A workers' charter of trade union rights — to organise, to strike, to picket effectively, and to take solidarity action.
- Taxation of the rich to fund decent public services, homes, education and jobs for all.
- A workers' movement that fights all forms of oppression. Full equality for women and social provision to free women from the burden of housework. Free abortion on request. Full equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. Black and white workers' unity against racism.
- Open borders.
- Global solidarity against global capital — workers everywhere have more in common with each other than with their capitalist or Stalinist rulers.
- Democracy at every level of society, from the smallest workplace or community to global social organisation.
- Working-class solidarity in international politics: equal rights for all nations, against imperialists and predators big and small.
- Maximum left unity in action, and openness in debate.
- If you agree with us, please take some copies of *Solidarity* to sell — and join us!

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Stop the abolition of council housing!

By George Peters

Tory plans for the NHS, the welfare state, public services, and the trade unions are vicious. Their objective is to reverse all the gains made by the working class since 1945.

Nowhere is this more stark than their intention to completely abolish council housing.

They have already pushed through attacks on council housing. The virtual end of council house building, "right to buy" at massively discounted prices, huge and sustained rent increases, bedroom tax, 80% market rents, ending security of tenure, etc.

Now they plan to impose means testing on all council tenants. Those above a cer-

tain income or with a certain level of savings will be forcibly moved into private rented accommodation or face "special" rent increases.

They also want to force local authorities to sell off council housing in theory to fund "right to buy" of housing association homes but in reality as the next stage in their strategy of abolishing council housing in its entirety. Indeed one Tory newspaper boasted this will "wipe out" council housing in London.

There are scandals like selling off of Woodberry Down and the New Era estate and the eviction of young people in Focus E15 hostel accommodation.

Particular despicable is "Hendon Waterside" where the Tory council in Barnet

has handed over an entire estate to Barratt Homes for luxury "development". Tenants face eviction with as little as one weeks notice.

It is now normal for councils to empty estates and then hand them over to "developers" with no concern for local housing needs or the tenants' welfare.

The Tories call this regeneration. The truth — it is social cleansing.

But the Tories cannot achieve their objective without the collaboration of Labour councils. The actions of local authorities like Haringey are crucial to their plans.

Haringey council plans to demolish 4,000 council homes and replace them with luxury housing. To stop the Tories we must

stop Haringey council. Everyone who has joined the Labour Party must become activists, and must pressure the local Labour Parties, councillors, and the two MPs Catherine West and David Lammy, to oppose the demolitions.

Labour councils were not elected to do the Tories' dirty work.

We need a massive campaign to fight the Tory plans tooth and nail, involving the Labour Party at every level especially a re-energised Young Labour, the tenants movement, and trade unions, linking up and coordinating the various struggles, and pressurising Labour councils like Haringey to back down.

United we can win!

Hutchison: we shall not be moved!

By Martin Thomas

The motto of the dock workers sacked on 6 August in Sydney and Brisbane by Hutchison, the world's biggest container-terminal operator, remains: one day longer!

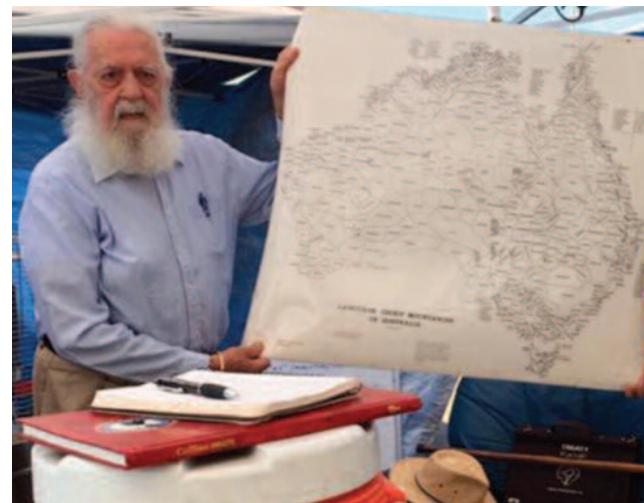
However long Hutchison delays on reinstatement, the workers' protest will last one day longer.

On 2 September the privatised Port of Brisbane — landlord for the Hutchison Brisbane terminal and for the approach road — told the workers that they must dismantle the community protest line maintained at the terminal entrance since 7 August.

The Port backed down after a meeting of the Hutchison workers and union delegates from other terminals, and a letter from the workers' union (MUA) branch secretary, Bob Carnegie.

"We have an absolute and fundamental right in this country", wrote Bob, "to speak our minds freely and to demonstrate peacefully. We intend to defend that right, should we need to, with whatever means are at our disposal, including but not limited to the political, community and industrial protest which would occur should we be attempted to be moved off the tiny parcel of land leased to us, we thought in good faith, from the Port of Brisbane".

A similar attempt to dismantle the protest line in



The union has organised activist training sessions on the protest line. Above: Aboriginal activist Bob Anderson speaks.

Sydney was defeated.

The sacked workers and supporters are maintaining a 24/7 assembly at the terminal gate. Workers who have not been sacked and have been rostered on are

meeting with the assembly each day, going into work, but insisting on 100% observance of all safety regulations.

Probably Hutchison's aim was to "crash" the terminals

Privatising in Piraeus

One of the measures imposed by the capitalist Eurozone leaders on Greece, and shamefully accepted by the Syriza-led government, is privatisation of the ports of Piraeus and Thessaloniki.

Likely bidders are Maersk, ICTSI, and the Chinese company Cosco, which already runs two of three container quays at Piraeus on a 35 year contract. Hutchison tried for Thessaloniki when there was previous talk of privatising it, in 2008.

Cosco's contract at Piraeus has been successful for Cosco. Traffic has grown to three million teu (twenty-foot-equivalent units); Piraeus is now Europe's eighth busiest container port; Cosco plans a fourth quay to expand to six million teu. The quay not yet contracted out at Piraeus has strong union organisation. Its traffic has stagnated while Cosco's quays thrive with no union recognition and no collective bargaining. Workers who tentatively formed a "workers' committee" were sacked.

The Cosco workers are mostly employed by subcontractors or sub-contractors of sub-contractors. Most are on 24 hour call, with only a few hours' notice of shifts, no overtime pay, and paid around €600 (\$900) a month.

They have no meal breaks, not even toilet breaks: managers tell them to urinate into the sea or take cups with them. "Bouncers" patrol the quays.

so that they could impose worse labour conditions. Just before they sacked 97 out of 204 operations and maintenance workers in Brisbane and Sydney, they subcontracted most of the shipping lines they've been handling to other operators.

The workers' resistance has forced some concessions. The Fair Work Commission has ordered that the 97 be put back on pay until 14 October. Hutchison global bosses have stepped in, sidelining the Australian managers who did the sackings, and agreed to negotiate through the Commission.

Now Hutchison are dragging their feet, hoping the action will fade by 14 October. The union is organising varied activities at the terminal gates to keep up the pressure.

Daesh consolidates; conflict in Kurdish opposition

By Simon Nelson

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights estimates around 5,000 people from all sides and including fighters and civilians died in Syria during August.

The shocking recent death toll in Syria is just the latest reasons why hundreds of thousands of Syrians have fled the country. The total number of Syrian refugees displaced across the Middle East, Europe and North Africa now stands at over four million.

The *Jerusalem Post* reported that among those who have fled to Europe are 100,000 Palestinian refugees that have previously been living in refugee camps across Syria, but had never had the right to citizenship.

Daesh (ISIS) were justly condemned for destroying artefacts at the ancient archeological site of Palmyra believing they represent un-Islamic beliefs and idolatry.

Daesh has also destroyed Christian monasteries and buildings, imposed the "jizya", a tax that non Muslims must pay in order to live within the "caliphate".

The choice faced by



Syria's Christian minority is to leave, convert to Islam, pay "jizya" or be killed by Daesh. In the city of al-Qaryatain, south east of Homs, local Christians are reported to have paid the tax in order to retrieve their identity documents which were held by Daesh.

Daesh's latest victory is the capture of the Jazal oil-field to the east of Homs, the last oilfield under the control of the regime of Bashar al-Assad. It is not currently operational, but its loss a blow to the regime, which has tried to protect Syria's resources and oil infrastructure from rebel factions.

The fighting around Homs remains some of the most intense between Daesh, other Islamist fighters including Jabhat al-Nusra, and regime forces.

IRAQ

In Iraq a woman has killed Daesh military commander Abu Anas for forcing her into sexual slavery.

The woman was reportedly forced to marry several Daesh members following their takeover of Mosul. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the so called Caliph of the Islamic State, has decreed that non-Iraqi women should be brought to Mosul

as sex slaves.

In July seven women were gang-raped in Fallujah and then killed by Daesh fighters.

Reports of brutal misogyny began to surface in 2014 and have included:

- 150 women were executed in al-Anbar after refusing to marry Daesh fighters.

- According to the UN Daesh militants attack villages and send women to "slave auctions".

- The *International Business Times* reports that at auctions "The girls [are] sold naked, with IS leaders having first choice, followed by emirs (commanders), and finally the fighters."

The Democratic Union Party (PYD), the largest Kurdish party in Syria has released Falamaz Uthman, a rival politician from the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Syria (PDK-S).

Uthman's arrest was condemned by the KNC (Kurdish National Council) the local bodies setup across the territory known as Rojava that is in Kurdish control. In a statement they said; "these actions are incompatible with human dignity and human rights, and it results in the weakening of Kurdish unity, and creates an atmosphere of discontent, resentment and despair in the Kurdish community."

ARRESTED

The PYD's police have arrested several Kurdish rival politicians, saying they were forming "armed gangs".

There have also been allegations of kidnapping of young men in order to press gang them in six months compulsory military service in the Peoples Self Defence Forces (YPG).

This follows allegations from Amnesty International

that the PYD is using its fight against Daesh as an opportunity to arrest and harass political opponents.

During a fact finding mission to Syria, Amnesty interviewed prisoners held by the PYD. Several said they were detained without charge or trial; some who did stand trial went through lengthy detention beforehand and were unable to see the evidence against them or properly defend themselves.

A number of detainees, of whom most were Arabs, were detained for having relatives who had fought for Daesh, for criticism of the PYD on social media or for other criticism of the Kurdish administration.

The counter-terrorism law introduced by the PYD in 2014 has been used to detain and prosecute Kurdish opposition groups critical of the PYD. The PDK-S told Amnesty International that 12 members of their party in Afrin, also under the control of the PYD-led administration, were arbitrarily detained in 2014.

They were sentenced for "terrorist acts", without any substantiated evidence.

Greek anti-memorandum alliance to contest election

On 20 August Alexis Tsipras announced the resignation of the Greek government, triggering elections on 20 September.

Tsipras has ruled out having a Syriza party congress before the elections, and looks set to exclude the left from party lists. The Left Platform released a statement (bit.ly/1Qm-pUqD) declaring it will stand in elections against

Syriza as part of a "broad anti-memorandum alliance" under the name "Popular Unity".

Sotiris Martalis from DEA (Internationalist Workers Left) gave an interview to Socialist Worker (USA) about the project. We publish an extract here.

The main forces [in Popular Unity] are from Syriza. But the process is not fin-

ished.

We don't know exactly what parts of Syriza will participate. We also don't know if it will be a new party, a front or a federation of organisations.

The foundation of Popular Unity will be all of the Left Platform — meaning the Left Current [led by Lafazanis and others] and the Red Network [initiated by DEA] — and, I hope, part of the so-called "53-Plus Group" [dissidents within the majority current of Syriza that disagrees with the decision of the party leadership].

There were two meetings to discuss left-wing groups outside Syriza participating. This involved 13 organisations, groups and initiatives. They signed a common declaration and will prepare a bigger text with their political position.

Most or all of these 13 groups will participate in Popular Unity. They will include two or three groups from the anti-capitalist coalition Antarsya. One is

ARAN, or Left Recomposition, the second-largest group in Antarsya. Another is ARAS, or Left Regroupment.

Other groups involved in the meetings to discuss Popular Unity include Xekinima, a section of the Committee for a Workers' International, and Paremvasi [which means "Intervention" in English]. The Initiative of the 1,000 also participated. Some ex-social democrats, such as DIKKI [the Democratic Socialist Movement], were involved.

The groups in Antarsya that have not yet decided to participate in Popular Unity include NAR [the New Left Current]; SEK, the UK Socialist Workers Party affiliate; and OKDE-Spartakos, the Greek section of the Fourth International. But the participation of important ANTARSYA groups in Popular Unity will put pressure on them.

There has already been four elections in about a year. The first was for Euro-

pean Parliament; then there were local and regional elections in May 2014; then came the national elections in January 2015; and in July, we had the referendum vote on austerity.

So this is the fifth election. And the people feel disappointed. They voted "no" in the referendum in the hope of stopping austerity. Now, some people are saying that Tsipras did the best he could. Others say the Left Platform was honest about this, and they mean what they say. You can find both those two basic opinions in workplaces.

But now begins a fight in the local branches of Syriza. We will see how many come with us, how many will stay with the leadership, and how many will just go home.

We will call for meetings and assemblies, but the outcome depends on the balance of forces in every local branch

- Full interview at: bit.ly/dea-pu

Solidarity with sacked Gdansk port worker

Maciek Konopka, a dock worker in Gdansk, Poland, has been sacked for union organising, sparking an international campaign for his reinstatement.

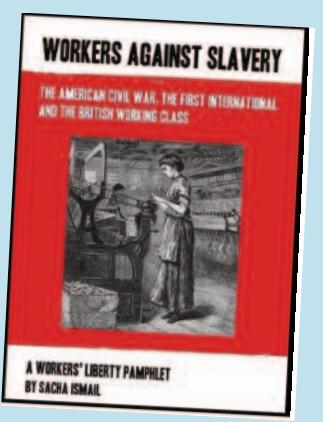
Maciek's sacking is the latest union-busting action by dock management, including intimidation and threats of dismissal as workers organise for better pay, against the use of temporary contracts, and over negotiation of a collective bargaining agreement.

Management employs workers on rolling temporary employment contracts, seemingly to maximise a culture of fear and job insecurity.

LabourStart are working with international unions to run a campaign for Maciek's reinstatement and against union-busting.

- Sign the petition at: bit.ly/ReinstateMaciek

A pamphlet looking at the stand taken by British workers against slavery during the US Civil War. £3 waged/£2 unwaged Buy online at www.workersliberty.org/node/25435



Will Corbyn's feminism work for women?

Socialism Feminism

By Esther Townsend



Labour leadership contender Jeremy Corbyn's "Working with Women" document makes many proposals which, if implemented, would mark significant gains in the struggle for gender equality. There is this and that problem with the demands, and it doesn't go far enough. More fundamentally, however, it doesn't come at women's rights from a class-struggle or even a particularly labour movement-based perspective.

Corbyn recognises the significant and disproportionate impact of austerity on women's lives. He calls for an end to, and though it's not entirely clear a reversal of, cuts to vital public services, welfare and the NHS. He opposes attacks on tax credits and pledges to work towards universal free childcare. "Working with Women" highlights the dangerous impact of the cuts women experiencing violence and abuse, and the way in which cuts intersect with racism to marginalise migrant women and asylum seekers.

"Working with Women" also highlights the problem of women's oppression and sexism across society — from Parliament, to the workplace, to the streets — and is clear about the need to tackle this.

Corbyn commits to a gender balanced shadow cabinet, and to working towards 50% of Labour's MPs being women (up from 40% currently). He highlights the continued 19.1% gender pay gap: 27% of women earn less than the living wage (making up 57% of those on minimum wage) compared to 16% of men. Importantly, Corbyn argues not just for equal pay but for higher pay for all; we don't just want equality of poverty but a levelling up of pay, working conditions and living standards for working-class women and men.

"Working with Women" also recognises the work of new, young feminists in fighting everyday sexism (from street harassment to police attitudes to women reporting assault and harassment). Suggestions to combat sexism include compulsory sex and relationships education; creating a ministerial role for women's safety; a police hotline staffed by women; public awareness campaigns; and consultation on the idea of women only train carriages.

This suggestion has caused a minor media furore, with some labelling it "a fourteenth century solution". That's unreasonable; women-only carriages have been introduced in a number of cities in Japan, India, Brazil and elsewhere and have been welcomed by many women. But I'm unconvinced they're the solution. In the face of daily harassment and assault, claiming a women-only space can feel not only safe but empowering. But women-only carriages potentially play into the idea that sexual harassment is inevitable, all women can



The right-wing press have condemned the idea of women-only rail carriages. This may not be the answer, but sexual harassment on transport is a serious issue.

do is try to avoid it, and also in some ways put that responsibility on us.

They also wouldn't address the issue that many of the women who are attacked are transport workers who cannot separate themselves into carriages. On London Underground, these same workers are facing almost a thousand job cuts which will make them, and those using the tube, much less safe.

STAFF

A better solution would be to increase numbers of staff (starting with wholeheartedly supporting and standing in solidarity with the workers' fight to save the existing jobs) and for the police, and unions, to take harassment and sexual assault seriously and stop blaming women.

But Corbyn is trying to address a very significant problem — sexual offences on London's Tubes and trains rose more than 32% to record levels last year. 43% of women between 18 and 34 living in London have experienced sexual harassment in public spaces. Something needs to change, and it's positive that Corbyn is open to discussion and is raising this important issue. It's dishonest of the right-wing press to use this to hammer Corbyn when he is opening debate about how to tackle the issue.

In parts "Working with Women" is too vague. Corbyn will work towards universal free childcare, but how quickly? And the document could go further in arguing for the need not just to oppose cuts but to extend services (including beyond their 2009 level) and to defend and extend access to benefits. Tax credits are mentioned, as is the fact that the work women do in the home should be recognised and valued, but Corbyn doesn't address the comprehensive system of benefits and support that would be needed for women to really make

meaningful choices and when, if and in what ways, to work after having children.

In general the focus is on the importance of getting women into work — good, but there are serious problems of perspective. The document argues "there is huge waste to the UK's economy when young women don't fulfil their potential" and that "we could add 10% to our GDP by 2030 if we could equalise men and women's economic participation". Women's employment is valued for the contribution we could be making to capitalism rather than for the independence and opportunities it can bring to our lives as well as our ability to organise.

The first measure of a lack of representation for women in decision-making is that men still make up 93% of executive directors of FTSE 100 companies and 86.5% of Chairs and Chief Executives. Does the fact there are more men leading FTSE 100 companies than women speak to the underrepresentation of women and sexism across society? Yes. Would the lives of most women be better if more women sat in these "powerful" jobs and positions? No. Women are not inherently more caring or understanding. Women who are CEOs of large corporations take home millions of pounds each year, but often don't pay staff who work for the same company a sufficient living wage. We're not looking for the wealth and power, currently held by a minority in our society, to be shared equally between a few men and women and the top, we want that power and wealth redistributed downwards across society, in the hands of the working class.

A related difference of perspective is how "Working with Women" primarily sees these reforms coming about. It's good that the document mentions the significance of trade union recognition and collective bargaining. But it also suggests equal pay will be achieved by making companies publish audits, presumably to embarrass them into equal pay.

We need to foreground the absolutely central importance of union organising and the power of working-class struggle. It's what we used to win the rights we have now (from equal pay legislation, to maternity leave, to even the right to vote) and will be fundamental to ensuring they defended and extended.

The Corbyn campaign provides a chance to bring together a newer, younger and more diverse feminism with a new class and labour movement oriented left. If we are to achieve the many positive ideas put forward by Corbyn's "Working with Women", and go further, we must take this opportunity to demand a renewed left, including a renewed movement of working-class women, both inside the Labour Party and outside in the broader labour movement.

Socialist feminists should seek to interweave women's rights and workers' rights demands, to build a labour movement-oriented feminist movement and feminist labour movement.

Who is Tom Watson?

By David Pendleton

Tom Watson, a main contender in the Labour deputy leadership election, comes from a Stalinist-Labour bureaucracy background. He used to boast that his father had been expelled from school for writing pro-Cuba graffiti.

On leaving school, Watson got a job in the Labour Party headquarters in Walworth Road. He then went to study Politics at Hull University in 1990; after initially eschewing student politics he became involved in the Labour Club and in 1992 became the Union President.

During this time he was heavily immersed in the National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS), working closely with the leading lights of the time, Lorna Fitzsimmons and Jim Murphy, both of whom would later become ultra-Blairite MPs and, Murphy, a disastrous leader of the Scottish Labour Party. In the 1992 Labour leadership campaign Watson was a vocal supporter of Bryan Gould. Gould was an outlier for the modernisers (Blairites) standing against the more traditionally Old Labour, rightwing, John Smith.

As President of Hull University, Watson inherited, in the President's office, the collected works of Stalin. He would proudly display them to visitors. After his presidency, he be-

came head of Labour Students. He then became the Labour Party Youth Officer, under Blair, subsequently working on the 1997 general election campaign. When Blair entered Downing Street for the first time in 1997, after Labour's election victory, Watson was one of the, handpicked, cheering crowd outside. In the early years of the Blair government he acted as a Brownite political fixer in the unions, in his job as Political Officer of the Amalgamated Electrical and Engineering Union (AEEU).

Watson became an MP in 2001. He voted for the war in Iraq and subsequently against an investigation into the war. According to Wikipedia, he was the campaign organiser for Labour for Birmingham Hodge Hill by-election in 2004, a campaign which saw Labour issue a leaflet entitled: "Labour is on your side, the Lib Dems are on the side of failed asylum-seekers".

Blair made Watson an Assistant Government Whip in 2004. He was promoted to Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Defence in 2006. In 2006 he was central to a Brownite plot to topple Blair, publicly calling for Blair to resign. Rather than Blair resigning, Watson was forced to resign. When Gordon Brown became Prime Minister, he made Watson Minister for Digital Engagement. Later Watson was also implicated in a coup attempt against Brown, as Brown's popularity crashed.



Machine politician, intriguer and plotter

Since 2010, Watson has led admirable campaigns against the Murdoch press and to expose establishment child-abuse. But his recent activity doesn't change what he is in essence — a Blairite-Brownite machine politician, an intriguer and plotter. The re-emerging left in the Labour Party should have no illusions in him whatsoever.

Let them in!

Over the weekend 5-6 September 20,000 refugees arrived by train in Germany via Austria from Hungary; thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands, are following them.

Merkel's decision to allow Syrians who reach Germany to apply for asylum there is a good thing.

That so many people in Germany, elsewhere in Europe, and around the world, have welcomed people as they arrive in train stations, have been collecting and distributing food, clothing, toys and medicine, shows that basic human solidarity is a powerful force in the world.

In the face of such an inspiring response to human suffering, David Cameron announced (7 September) that Britain's share of the refugee "burden" will be to take just 20,000 hand-picked people over the next five years. As a concession — he had earlier vowed the UK would take no more than the 216 Syrian refugees it has so far taken in — Cameron's gesture was a pathetic disgrace. Pretending that 20,000 is anything other than a token is dishonest.

While people around Europe were moved to action by the image of the body of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi (following 2,500 other migrants and refugees drowning in the Mediterranean this year), Cameron and most other Conservatives remained hard-hearted.

It didn't stop Cameron seeking to take the moral high ground, saying he prefers to spend UK aid money in the Middle East close to where the refugees come from.

The UK labour movement should condemn the govern-

Help us raise £15,000!

On Sunday 6 September comrades in Sheffield took part in the "Bolshy bike ride", a sponsored bike ride in the Peak District with rest-stops that included political discussions.

South London branches also held a summer fundraising and political event, although with less cycling involved! If your branch hasn't held a summer event don't let the encroaching autumn weather put you off. Consider organising a film showing, or other social event to discuss politics and raise money for Workers' Liberty.

As an organisation we think that political education is important. We cannot hope to build an effective revolutionary left unless we educate ourselves and discuss ideas.

We have just published the second volume of *The Fate of the Russian Revolution, The two Trotskyisms confront Stalinism* (bit.ly/TwoTrotskyisms). The book costs us money to produce, but, more than that, it would never have been produced without us having an office, equipment, at least part-time workers, etc. All that costs money.

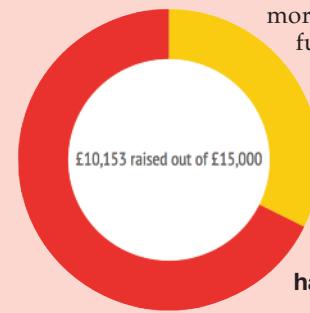
If you haven't already bought your copy, buy one now. Discuss ordering copies in your branch to sell at events and on stalls, and organise a reading group in your area about the book.

Please also consider:

- Getting a subscription to our weekly newspaper, Solidarity — workersliberty.org/subscribe
- Taking out a monthly standing order.
- Making a one-off donation
- Organising a fundraising event in your local area
- Committing to do a sponsored activity and asking others to sponsor you
- Buying some of our books, posters, autocollants or pamphlets

For information on standing orders or how to donate visit workersliberty.org/donate For more ideas and information on fundraising visit workersliberty.org/fundraising

Particular thanks this week to those who took part in the Bolshy Cycle Ride which raised £205. Thanks also Bruce and Becky for extra paper sales, to Mark. So far we have raised £10,153.



ment's failure to take action over this crisis and the deaths of so many others in the Mediterranean this year. We need to campaign for the right of Syrian refugees, and others currently in Europe, who want to come to the UK to be allowed do so.

Germany's stance implies it will take the lion's share of the new refugees although it seeks to persuade other EU countries to take their "fair share". It is right that support for migrants is not offloaded on the poorer countries within the EU. All the more reason for rich countries like the UK to open their borders.

Germany's Christian-Democrat government, are opening their borders for a variety of reasons. No less neoliberal than the Tories, the German government knows that in the longer term German society can benefit from an inflow of new, mainly young, and often well educated people from Syria. The EU Commission's 2015 "Ageing Report" projects that Germany's population will shrink from 81.3 million in 2013 to 70.8 million in 2060, while the UK's will rise from 64.1 million to 80.1 million. Both will have an unfavourable disparity between fit, younger workers and pensioners, but, of the two, Germany will be the worse off.

GERMANY

The German unions have given a lot of rhetorical support to migrants and refugees; IG Metall encourages its members to offer German lessons, hold social events, help find suitable accommodation.

But there may be a need to offer stronger defence. In the last year there have been hundreds of attacks on refugee housing including arson attacks and vandalism.

People from Syria, as well as Iraq and Afghanistan have come into Europe via the eastern Mediterranean. The central Mediterranean route, in contrast brings proportionately more Eritreans, Nigerians and sub-Saharan Africans. The change in significance of these two streams of migrants has shifted the debate about migration toward talk of asylum and refuge (from war) and away from "economic migrants", people who are migrating predominantly because they are poor.

This change has helped arouse sympathy for those who are forced to leave their home countries, and perhaps migrants in general. If it has helped to undermine a sceptical, sometimes hostile political consensus around migration, that too is a good thing. But we should not accept the stance of the Tory press that migrants can be divided between the "deserving" (those fleeing war) and the "undeserving" (those wanting to improve their life in Europe). Anyone who wants to move



Refugees walking across Hungary towards Austria

around the world — even if it is *just* in search of a better life — should be able to do so.

The increasing migrant flows are a political challenge for socialists; we need to find political answers that can take the solidarity campaigns beyond immediate sympathies. But in the first place we need to make our unions part of the national and local solidarity campaigns.

What should socialists say? We resist the demonisation of migrants, for whatever reason they travel. We demand emergency funds for shelter, food, public services and education. Those funds should also be available to existing migrants who have been left destitute by this government. We demand the right of *all* migrants and refugees to have freedom of movement — especially as the current wave is likely to encourage more people around the world to seek sanctuary.

All migrants should have the right to work. Amnesty for all and an end to detentions and deportations! Fight for adequate resources for all, wherever we make our home. Workers of all lands, unite and fight!

The numbers behind the crisis

Behind the current Syrian refugee wave is a war which has annihilated a way of life for the Syrian people.

It is not just, as one vile former UKIP candidate described it, the pull of an easier life in the EU. Numbers have increased recently, as larger numbers of Syrians have become more desperate.

On 7 September Channel 4 News reported from Lebanon, where a quarter of the population are Syrian refugees. Many live in camps run by the UN, who say they do not now have enough money to adequately feed them. Increasingly, young children are working to help their families survive.

According to UNHCR, in September 2015 there were 4,088,099 Syrian refugees. Significant populations live in neighbouring countries: 1,938,999 in Turkey; 1,113,941 in Lebanon; 629,266 in Jordan; 249,463 in Iraq; 132,375 in Egypt; and 24,055 in Libya. As many as 7.6 million Syrians are displaced within the country itself.

Europe's "migration crisis" is in fact a small, displaced echo of vast Middle East and African migration crises. Nevertheless, the flows are significant and likely to increase in the short to medium term.

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) estimates that more than 350,000 refugees have crossed EU borders so far this year; the figure for the whole of 2014 was 280,000.

The 350,000 includes almost 235,000 who arrived in Greece and nearly 115,000 in Italy. The eastern Mediter-

anean route — through Greece via Turkey — has now overtaken in significance the more dangerous central Mediterranean route across the Mediterranean Sea from North Africa. UNHCR estimated figures for 2015 are 300,000 attempting to cross the Mediterranean so far, 2,700 people — around 0.9% of the total — have drowned in the attempt.

The Hungarian government is now notorious for ruthless hostility to the current migrant wave. The right-wing government of Viktor Orban wants to stop the flows through its country, is building fences to keep them out, and impedes the progress of those who have managed to get into the country to more welcoming EU states; but the country had up to now itself taken a fairly large number of refugees.

In 2014, it received 4.2 asylum applications per 1,000 population. (Another country on this migrant route, Serbia, not yet a member of the EU and not part of the Schengen Area, has also received fairly large numbers of asylum applications.) The figure for Germany in 2014 was 2.1 — though it is likely to soar in 2015, to as much as four times that. The figure for the UK was 0.5. Sweden had the most asylum applications in 2014: 7.8 per 1,000.

In 2014, the main nationalities granted asylum were, first, Syrian, then Eritrean, followed by Afghan, Iraqi and Iranian.

Applications are far higher than the numbers actually granted asylum, but the proportions between the EU countries are instructive.

Solidarity with refugees and r

Hungary: a hostile government, yet people's solidarity

By Hannah Webb

The situation of migrants journeying through Hungary has been covered extensively in the news, showing chaotic scenes at Keleti Station in Budapest.

However, the material response and displays of solidarity by people in Hungary has been commendable. At the distribution centre at Keleti there was huge amounts of donated clothes and food. Recently convoys of cars have been organised to transport people to Austria, despite the government threatening to prosecute those who did.

Additionally, the self-organisation of migrants in Budapest has brought about serious concessions. On 4 September thousands marched from Budapest towards Vienna, along the motorway until (after many hours walking) the Hungarian government was forced to provide buses to transport them to the border.

A recent rush of migrants when people heard rumours of a fence being built on the border between Serbia and Hungary, on the orders of Hungarian prime minister Viktor



Orbán. People wanted to try to cross the border before the fence was complete.

The Hungarian government, unsurprising to those who are aware of their nationalist politics, have done everything they can do to make Hungary a hostile environment for refugees. They want to discourage migrants from travelling through

Hungary, the first entry-point to Europe's Schengen Area, and to encourage people to take a different route — perhaps through Croatia and Slovenia.

The government has also been cancelling international trains travelling West from Budapest, and forcing people, sometimes by tricking them into believing they're being transported to Austria, into refugee camps of purposefully poor conditions.

The startling film of a young family lying in the railway tracks to prevent a train taking them on to a refugee camp says everything about how bad the conditions are. In late August there were reports of people having been locked in cells of 3 metres by 4 metres with 27 people; it was reported that there was noticeably not enough oxygen in the cells due them having just one small window high up. Parents were shouted at by guards for holding their babies up near the window to ensure they got enough oxygen.

It is clear that solidarity, self-organisation and widespread civil disobedience can be of significant help in helping those looking for a better life.

Migrant and refugee support and solidarity groups

This is not an exhaustive compendium of solidarity organisations. There are many efforts to get resources and help to the various locations of the refugee crisis, lots are decentralised/loosely formed. This list aims to collate some of the more prominent and organised efforts. Much of the UK effort, for obvious reasons, has been focussed on Calais.

Calais Migrant Solidarity are a group formed following the No Borders camp in Calais 2009. There is a clear political motivation to their work. They explain that they are not an organisation for the distribution of donations (although they do do some), but are focussed on solidarity activities such as monitoring police activity and intervening in the daily police raids, squatting empty buildings in the locality, working with migrants to organise demonstrations, outreach into the local community, providing legal information and organising English classes. They specifically request tools for fixing stuff, phones and sim cards, good cameras and people.

- bit.ly/1mEsKfE

CalAid are a volunteer group focussed on the collection and distribution of donations. They are quoted in a recent Guardian article which highlights serious disruption at Calais after the arrival of spontaneous convoys of aid, saying "it is vital that people donate through a centralised distribution system", and that "material donations are needed for November or later, but they had to be given in a "respectful manner" that does not dehumanise the people in the camp.

- bit.ly/1M84EGt

Calais People to People Solidarity are a UK Facebook group for collaboratively organising aid collection and donation. They have a list of trips from around the UK to Calais.

- on.fb.me/1K0fhJo

Worker solidarity with refugees and migrant workers is a Facebook group of socialists and trade unionists organ-

ising labour movement solidarity action, such as drafting motions for union branches, requesting union funds with talk more focussed on more political and practical solidarity than basic aid. There is some discussion of organising a day action on 10 October.

- on.fb.me/1M84HC5

International:

L'auberge des migrants international are a French non-profit organisation for donations, drop offs and relatively non political solidarity events such as letter writing and art activities.

- bit.ly/1UyqO9b and on.fb.me/1LhgEzy

MIGSZOL (Migrant Solidarity Group of Hungary) describe themselves as an informal and non-hierarchical grass roots movement advocating the political and social rights of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Hungary.

- bit.ly/1HyaXOK

Refugee Solidarity Network (Turkey) are a non-profit type group.

- bit.ly/1VKZ0vB

Refugee Solidarity Movement Thessaloniki (Greece). Ensuring food security and basic supplies for refugees in Thessaloniki

- on.fb.me/1NnoygT

Events coming up:

12 September has been earmarked as a day of action and there are events going on. Stand up to Racism and Solidarity with Refugees are organising a rally from Marble Arch to Downing Street.

- bit.ly/refug-w

The Anti-Fascist Network are organising a mobilisation on the same day to confront an alliance of far right and fascist groups who are descending on Dover.

- on.fb.me/1IZuI0b

Open Dover, open Europe!

Zoe Salanitro from the National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts explained what is happening on 17 October with the Open Dover, Open Europe demonstration.

The demonstration will be taking place simultaneously in Dover and Calais.

It is in response to many migrants trying to enter the UK. We're seeing a lot of anti-migrant rhetoric. We also want to challenge the dichotomy between migrants and refugees, where migrants are undeserving but refugees are deserving. We think that everyone should have the freedom to move where they like. The demo was called by NCAFC, but we have also brought in other groups, like Left Unity, Workers' Liberty, RS21 and Right to Remain.

This is an issue that affects many different aspects of our social fabric. The issue affects students, because of the treatment of international students; and some students, like Majid Ali, are even deported, to uncertain fates. Attitudes to migrants are also behind the closure of ESOL courses.

The issue of borders affects so many aspects of life. It's important to be political. Lots of people have done great work sending relief convoys to Calais. NCAFC supporters sent one in August as well. But the issue is very political. There wouldn't be people living in abject poverty in Calais, or drowning in the Mediterranean, if politics surrounding migration wasn't so dire.

All these things are the result of really bad, rightwing politics on immigration.

- "Open Dover, open Europe" demonstration, Dover and Calais, Saturday 17 October. Organised by National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts (NCAFC) and others. Email:againstfeesandcuts@gmail.com



migrants

What's it like to be a refugee?

By Omar Raii

In 1996, when I was three years old, my parents and I fled our native Afghanistan. Over the course of the next three years we made our way across Europe before we arrived in Britain in 1999. This is an account from my parents about why they did what they did, and how they have come to react to the current refugee crisis from their perspectives of already having been through it. I hope this gives people a small idea of what it's like to be a refugee.

Why did you leave Afghanistan?

Dad: We left, like all the people who left with us, because our lives were in danger. There was a civil war going on in the country. We could barely stand the Mujahedeen [an Islamist-led government that controlled Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996, following the collapse of the pro-Soviet regime] but when the Taliban took over Kabul we just had to leave. They were making people's lives a misery. Their strict interpretation of Islam was not something we wanted to live with.

Mum: Had they found out that your dad was educated in the Soviet Union and had been in the old Afghan Army, they would almost certainly have hanged him.

I had to wear a burka at all times and couldn't leave the house without my husband. If your hands or feet were visible outside of your chador, they'd beat you. The Taliban were so bad we found ourselves wishing the Mujahedeen would come back! After years of war we tried to stay in the country, but once the Taliban took over, it became unbearable for us.

Dad: You should ask yourselves, why do people in England, France and Germany not flee their countries?

Because there's no war in those countries?

Dad: Exactly. We didn't want to leave, we were forced to. Afghanistan was our home, but how could we live like that in such a country?

Mum: I still to this day can't stand fireworks because it reminds me of being in Afghanistan during the war. You must understand what living in a war zone does to a person.

Why did you decide to come to England? Why not Russia or Germany?

Dad: We didn't decide straight away that we wanted to go to England. Initially we just wanted to flee, and so we went to Russia because it was the closest European country and because we spoke Russian. Unfortunately the Russian government did not welcome us as refugees. We lived there for three years trying to get asylum status, but they wouldn't give it to us. Every day the police would beat us up and take our money because they considered us illegal immigrants. It was there that our daughter was born. Once we became fed up, we decided to flee to Western Europe.

Mum: We were told that if we stayed too long in Poland and Germany they would keep us in the camps [refugee camps]. We hated it, we didn't want to be treated like animals, and we were told England was a country that had human rights and would treat people well, so that's why we went there.

How did you make your way here?

Dad: We gave all the money we had to people smugglers, whose identities we never found out. We went by car and by



train to Russia and then across Europe on rail and on foot.

Mum: Walking through those forests was hell. I can't even imagine how I was able to do that for so long. We were terrified so many times, thinking the smugglers had left us if a lorry we were waiting for hadn't arrived.

Dad: I remember being freezing all the time and having to make sure you and your sister weren't too cold or hungry.

How did you eat?

Dad: We got little bits of food from the smugglers. It was very little, nowhere near enough. We went for days without eating at times, so that our kids could eat, there was so little of it.

Mum: We were smuggled onto a lorry, and we didn't even know if it was going to go through the tunnel or on a ferry. We just did what we were told and they would say "keep quiet until the doors are opened". We think the lorry went on a ferry. It was hugely dangerous and we had no idea where we were going so many times.

What are your feelings towards the smugglers? What about the governments and their actions?

Dad: We have a difficult relationship with them. They're criminals who exploited us, but then again without them we wouldn't have been able to come here. It is hard for other people to understand these things

Mum: We were grateful that the UK was able to take us in. That is all we feel about the country.

Were you at all annoyed they didn't give you more help?

Dad: We had no animosity towards the country, we were just so grateful to find a place. They were mostly helpful to us in Dover, this was back in 1999. I don't think they are as helpful these days. I feel very bad for the people who are now trying to do the same as what we did. The government should help them more.

How did you find life here initially? What about now?

Dad: Initially it was difficult. The language was the main issue. I already could speak several languages, but not English. The house we were given was very small. We weren't ungrateful, we were happy for any shelter, it was just difficult to fit us all in.

Mum: I thought everyone in England lived like they did in old imperial novels or like in James Bond films. Our life experience was far from that. But we got used to it and now we are citizens and are very happy here.

What do you think about the current refugee crisis? What would you say to people who are concerned about the number of people coming into Europe?

Dad: We would say to the refugees, be patient. With God's help you will get to your destinations. I believe there is still humanity in this world and hopefully you will soon be safe. The European governments cannot ignore you forever.

Mum: To the governments of Hungary and all the other countries, they should understand how lucky they are that they have never experienced what the refugees are feeling. They haven't had to flee war.

They should understand that no one wants to leave their home. They are forced to by poverty and war. People should understand that most would be willing to take any work they can once they get here, they don't want to come here to get benefits. We were okay in Afghanistan, but when we came here we were poor. However both of us work and we are proud to work here.

We are proud to be here, we are not criminals or anything like that, and these refugees I'm sure would be the same. They are not criminals, they are simply human beings.

Heroes and Hordes

By Janine Booth

If Nicholas Winton were saving the children today
His Transport of Kindness would camp out in fear at Calais
Compassion is easier cast back through history's mist
Abhorrence for migrants but Oscars for Schindler's List

No humans may cross here, this tunnel is only for freight
Hurrah for the Blackshirts and see off the swarms at the gate

They've kind words for history, now for the iron-clad fist
Coldness for Calais and Oscars for Schindler's List

The lords of the fortress will draw bloody lines in the sand
Armed guard at the border instead of the helping hand
They'll trample the memory of saviours whose statues they've kissed

With borders of barbed wire and Oscars for Schindler's List

• www.janinebooth.com



Building the left after the Labour leadership vote

Max Munday, co-ordinator of the Corbyn supporters' organisation in Sheffield, spoke to Solidarity about what they've built in the city.

Why is the campaign shaking things up in the labour movement?

I think the campaign gives people a clear, positive focus. Immediately after the election we had demonstrations; people were clearly saying we don't like the Tories and we don't want cuts. This is more positive, we have a clear goal of electing Corbyn and an opportunity to get left-wing ideas discussed with a national platform.

There is a similarity with Syriza and Podemos, but in some respects the Corbyn campaign is better. As compared to Podemos it's not based around a trendy leader, but more rooted in principled left-wing politics. Of course we may need similar struggles to those in Syriza to stop a move to the right if Corbyn wins.

The buzz around the campaign in Sheffield is things like people wandering around wearing badges, talking about it in the pub, promoting it on social media, but it's not just online stuff. A lot of people are regularly attending meetings and becoming active, and we've had very successful rallies.

How have you organised?

In mid-July we convinced a local Red Labour supporter who we'd worked with in the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory to host a planning meeting to kick start Sheffield support for Corbyn. We got 25 people. Since then we've met as an open forum, without reference to people's status in the Labour Party. We began with lobbying of members at the different Labour endorsement meetings. We've also organised phone banking sessions, which have been well attended from across the city and beyond, across South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire.

We elected a steering committee to organise our rally at the Crucible Theatre and in Tudor Square outside. We did good press work. There was a lot of excitement and the Crucible was booked out in about fourteen hours, overnight, as soon as tickets became available. We must have had over 1,500 people in total. The fact that the event went smoothly showed people our competence but also our extensive connections in the city. We had a positive youth meeting afterwards as well.

We've worked with some very good activists to put on a meeting for BME people in Sheffield at the start of August. It was attended by a lot of Pakistani, Yemeni and Somali people who said their communities have been taken for granted by Labour for too long and who want to refresh the party on the basis of a united working class and proper representation.

The rally was an opportunity to bring councillors into the campaign, and for us to say to them, be open about supporting Corbyn, and we can talk together about opposing the cuts. We need to be positive, collaborative but unflinching in our disagreements. But bringing councillors in, that's a good step.

We have activists who want to stand in the council elections — we have all out elections in Rotherham and Sheffield



next year — but we need a discussion about the basis for that. Some people want councillors to take a clear anti-cuts stand, but others think you need to be more pragmatic, at least until you get a critical number of councillors and critical size of movement in the community. That argument has to be had.

The thing we didn't get right with the rally was not having more grassroots campaigners speaking on issues like refugee solidarity, our local NHS campaign, plus broader issues like Kurdish solidarity, so that people could see it's not just a list of policies, but things we're fighting for as a movement.

Who's involved?

We've got a really good range of supporters, from those who fought for the left in the 70s and 80s through to people who weren't born in the 80s. There's about a 60:40 split members to supporters, and lots of people are tentatively involved in the party, because they've had really bad experiences of the right before and they're nervous, but they're also incredibly excited by this opening.

EXPERIENCE

The older comrades have loads of experience of fighting for left-wing politics in the party and outside and that's vital to draw on, or instance on tackling the issue of democracy in the party.

We're going to have a workshop on the erosion of democratic rights from the 80s and the 90s, so we can better think about where we want to get to. We need to understand how it was shut down in order to reassert it.

What response have you had from the local labour movement?

It's mixed. Perhaps because we're such a grassroots network, working with but not run from the central Corbyn campaign, that has put off some of the more routine-focused or politically conservative union officials. Unfortunately we had unbelievable hostility from the Unison regional office when we tried to ask for their support, completely ignoring the national union's agreed policy. That's an issue Unison activists really need to take up.

We've had very strong support from prominent members of the Trades Council and Unite, who've let us use their offices for phone banking. Also a lot of help from the First Bus workers' Unite branch. The summer break has also been a problem for getting unions involved.

I've been pleasantly surprised that we've worked so well as a Sheffield campaign. Within the group we've got big differences on international politics, and even on Labour Party politics, yet people are really committed.

What next?

We've got a post-election meeting to discuss next steps on 14 September and a big social on the 20th. Socials are important: we also need to bring people together more informally. That allows more fruitful discussion and means we can have a labour movement that functions on different levels, creating a sense of community.

That would be my advice for people in other cities. Also make sure you get contact details when you meet people, and keep in touch, so you can start to build a profile or map of the area you live in, what forces you have in the party and the wider labour movement. If we don't get these solid connections the movement could turn out pretty ephemeral after 12 September.

How would you like to see the Labour left organise after the election?

We need a balance between clear positive momentum around the policies and gearing up to counter any challenge from the right. Many of the people who are excited about Corbyn aren't used to harsh struggles and arguments in the labour movement. We need to be realistic but we don't just want to be defensive.

We should aim for politics to be discussed in communities, in workplaces, with a stronger Labour Party tied to stronger union organisation, but also stronger socialist organisation on the ground.

Someone said at a meeting the other night, "our [Labour] branch never goes to a picket line together". If the party was active in workers' struggles and the community it would allow us to take on the difficult arguments about topics like Europe and immigration, to pro-actively make the case for a class solidarity.

We haven't yet discussed about how much energy people should put into becoming branch and constituency officials, about the possibilities and limitations of that for promoting socialist politics, but that discussion is going to be had. It's worth saying that some people love being in our network but don't want to be too active in the party.

We need a strong grassroots movement, to complement a Corbyn leadership with rank and file pressure at the bottom, because without that it will flounder. Trade unions are an essential part of that too.

Is your group a space for discussing ideas as well as organising?

We've got a plan to hold workshops, to understand the party better, to talk about democracy, also one about councillors and the cuts, but also we've agreed to have discussions on big issues like the EU. On that there's a legacy of Tony Benn's politics and a sharp disagreement on the Labour left. We need to be discussing these things on the left as well as in the formal structures of the Labour Party.

Everyone is positive about having those debates, which I think is a testament to the strength of our organisation and its positive, comradely atmosphere.

What kind of organising would you like to see at a national level?

The key thing is strong roots in local groups that feed into the national structure, to allow not only coordinated organisation but discussion of political program and demands. I'd also want to see the support given by unions nationally replicated in involvement at a local level, because without that we're going to struggle.

I don't think we should wait for a national organisation, we need to do things locally now. I'd want a national structure to aid and guide local groups, but not dictate every action. The labour movement needs renewal at every level, and the Labour Party moved to the right in part because we haven't had, at a local level, enough assertiveness to counter that.

Now we've got an opportunity to do that effectively. We need strong local groups all over the country.

“Bring together the entire labour movement”

By a Merseyside Corbyn supporter

In Liverpool organisation sprang up around the twice weekly phonebanks. In the last couple of weeks there have been times when we've had more volunteers than phones.

There have been two large rallies on Merseyside, but both organised by the district TUC rather than the local campaign. 350 attended one in Birkenhead at the start of the campaign and 1,200 in Liverpool later. We are soon to meet as Corbyn supporters to discuss the state of the local party and what we can do about it. Hopefully we will bring in some members of the affiliated unions too.

We need to assess the strength of our forces locally in relation to the state of the party and wider movement. We need long-term organisation and are starting to build that.

We need to put people in the same CLPs in touch with each other so they don't feel isolated. Where we are confident and numerous enough we should stand for positions in

local parties. But we need to be wary of getting bogged down in a long march through the institutions of the Labour Party.

I think we should call local meetings of the entire labour movement — the party, affiliated and non-affiliated unions, and community groups — to discuss how to keep a Corbyn-led Labour Party "on track".

We need to be good party activists but, as ever, keep the interests of the class before the interests of the party. We should not simply become foot soldiers for a leftwing leadership.

If Corbyn loses we should guard against demoralisation and point out that we're still streets ahead of where we were five months ago.

Lots of people will understandably not want to slog their guts out for a Labour Party led by one of the others, which is why the labour movement as a whole needs to be made into a political home for the people enthused by Corbyn's campaign.

The lefts we've had and the left we want

By Martin Thomas

The Labour Party has always had left wings, more or less organised, more or less diffuse. The thing is, up to now, they have always been defeated. A look at the history tells us what we need from a new left.

In a way the Labour Party's founding (as the Labour Representation Committee, in 1900) was a high point for the Labour left. The left wing was embodied in affiliated sub-parties, able to operate regular party structures of their own, without witch-hunts or bans.

Until 1918 the Labour Party had no individual members: it was a federation of trade unions (only a minority of unions at first, then more and more) and socialist sub-parties, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society. Its local organisation in each area was usually either the Trades Council or the local ILP.

The ILP, however, almost always adapted to the main union leaders who, ideologically, were no more than Liberals with a special interest in trade-union issues. It became a machine for decorating minimalist reform policies with windy socialist phrases. The finale came in 1931, when the ILP leaders Ramsey Macdonald and Philip Snowden, then Labour Prime Minister and Chancellor, split from Labour in order to make welfare cuts and front a Tory-dominated "National Government".

The SDF was made of stronger stuff. But within a year of the Labour Party's founding it disaffiliated, in disgust at Labour's refusal to commit to socialist aims. The SDF remained active in local Labour Party organisations (i.e. Trades Councils); SDFers, as trade-union delegates, were vocal at Labour Party conference; and SDFers stood for and won seats as Labour parliamentary candidates.

SDF Labour MPs such as Will Thorne, however, often became indistinguishable from the mainstream. The SDF had no real concept of intervening in the Labour Party. Its concept was rather that the SDF, as such, would advocate for socialism, and meanwhile individual SDFers would do their individual work in trade unions and the Labour Party.

After World War One the Labour Party got a flood of new working-class support and began to outstrip the Liberals. It set up an individual membership structure.

DYNAMIC

The dynamic force of the socialist left was now the Communist Party, formed in July 1920 by the British Socialist Party merging with other groups.

The BSP was a continuation of the SDF, but had reaffiliated to the Labour Party in 1916. Now BSPers, and even more so other leaders of the new Communist Party, who came from groups outside Labour, thought revolution so near that there was no point bothering with Labour.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks eventually convinced them that the CP should apply to affiliate to the Labour Party. A similar policy in Australia won CP affiliation to the Australian Labor Party for a while, but in Britain the Labour leaders were alarmed and the CP leaders maladroit. Labour rejected affiliation, and has never since allowed sub-parties to affiliate. Individual CP members remained active in local Labour Parties, or were even elected as Labour MPs. The Labour right came after them. Eventually, in 1925, it banned CPers from Labour membership. The CP fought back, with a National Left Wing Movement based on Constituency Labour Parties disaffiliated for not expelling CPers plus left-wing groups in other CLPs. The NLWM's paper, the *Sunday Worker*, had a circulation of 100,000, substantially bigger than CP's *Workers' Weekly*.

Leon Trotsky outlined a perspective: "To think that the communists will grow over the decades step by step, acquiring at each new parliamentary election a few tens or hundreds of thousands of new votes, would be to have a fundamentally false concept of the future. Of course for a certain relatively prolonged period communism will develop comparatively slowly but [in the next big political crisis] the Communist Party will occupy the [leading] place in the Labour Party that is at present occupied by the Independents".

Stalinism intervened. The CP dithered in the 1926 General Strike, and then in 1928-9 made a Stalin-inspired turn to dismissing the Labour Party en bloc as "social-fascist" and dis-



Michael Foot was central to the left of the party for decades, but failed to mount a fight against rising Thatcherism when he became Labour Party leader. Tony Benn narrowly failed to win the Deputy Leadership of the Party in 1981.

solving the NLWM.

Few NLWM members can have joined the CP, which by then was declining. Presumably the majority dispersed or returned to the ILP soft left of the Party.

The shock of Macdonald's and Snowden's betrayal in 1931 led the ILP rump not to intervene more dynamically but to disaffiliate and start dwindling. ILPers who disagreed with that move joined with other Labour leftists to create a group called the Socialist League, whose leaders included Stafford Cripps, G D H Cole, Aneurin Bevan, and Michael Foot.

Stalinism intervened again. Socialist League politics narrowed down to advocacy of a Popular Front "from as far left as the Communist Party to as far right as the democratic Tory". This Labour left was in some ways to the right of the Labour mainstream!

The Socialist League dissolved, in response to a Labour decision to ban it, in 1937, and the weekly paper *Tribune* was launched. For 40 years *Tribune* was the axis of the Labour left.

TRIBUNE

From 1937 until the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, Tribune was pro-Stalinist, accepting the Moscow Trials. After 1945 it was hegemonised by the reforming Labour government, and by 1948-49 Labour Party headquarters paid for two pages of each issue.

Tribune supported NATO and the Korean war. It did nothing to combat the Labour leaders' increasing conservatism and loss of purpose after the reform surge of 1945-8, or the drift which would lead to the Labour right, with Hugh Gaitskell, taking the Party leadership in 1955.

Before Gaitskell became leader, however, a revolt had welled up from the rank and file: the "Bevanite" movement after 1951. *Tribune* shifted to reflect it, and became much livelier. "Tribune Brains Trust" meetings round the country drew large audiences. But they did not organise compact, effective revolt.

Gradually the "Bevanite" movement petered out. Bevan reconciled with Gaitskell. In 1958 some more left-wing Bevanite MPs made a move. As one of them, Ian Mikardo, recounted, they "took over a small and moribund society called Victory for Socialism and set about building it into a nationwide organisation. It was a mistake, and after a year or two we cut out of it because many of the branches had been taken over by the Trotskyists, and we had no means of stopping them".

After 1959 the Labour youth movement — allowed to develop after a long period of bureaucratic stifling — became lively and left-wing. By 1969 it had been suppressed, partly through bans and expulsions, partly through impatient radicals withdrawing.

The revival of the Labour left after the Tories took office in 1970 and made a first (defeated) attempt at what would be called "Thatcherism" was almost entirely "molecular", with-

out national organisation. The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy was launched in 1973, and continues to this day, but mostly operates as a "think-tank" and coordinating centre for efforts to reform party structure, rather than as an across-the-board left.

In 1978 the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory was formed. It was led by Marxists, rank-and-file activists, where previous groupings other than the NLWM had been led by soft-left MPs. It was able to ally with CLPD and others to create a broad Rank and File Mobilising Committee in 1980-1 which won democratic reforms in the Labour Party.

It was too small to prevail, especially after a large chunk of it split away in 1980 to support Labour councillors who responded to Thatcher's cuts by raising rates (local property taxes) rather than defiance. The Labour and trade union leaders organised a backlash after their Bishops Stortford meeting of January 1982.

Part of the Labour right broke away to form the SDP (now merged into the Lib Dems); the rest remained, but openly undermined Labour's election campaign in 1983 by denouncing the (incoherent) leftish manifesto.

At the October 1983 Labour conference, the SCLV paper *Socialist Organiser*, previously popular, was cold-shouldered when it commented mildly that the new Labour leadership combo — Neil Kinnock of the soft left and Roy Hattersley of the soft right — was "Not Our Dream". A swathe of the left was willing, indeed anxious, to settle for "moderation", "consensus", and yet more "moderation", in the hope that would restrain the organised Labour right from sabotage.

As the right regained its grip, culminating in Tony Blair's election as leader in 1994, there were still left-wing groups — the Socialist Campaign Group Network, Labour Party Socialists, Keep The Link, Defend Clause Four. They were all fighting rearguard actions.

The Corbyn movement shows that Labour still has a base broad and porous enough that groundswells emerge, even in unpromising times (like 1951, like the 1970s).

But the Labour right has always been a solid force embedded in the labour movement's bureaucracy, and, through that or directly, in bourgeois society. It is even more like that today, when a corps of hundreds of advisers, researchers, spin-doctors and other careerists has formed around MPs' offices and Labour-ish think-tanks.

The hard-right faction Progress has had millions from Lord David Sainsbury (£195,000 so far this year) and other plutocrats. The right have, when it comes down to it, the whole weight of established society behind them. They have no scruples about sabotaging the labour movement from within, or undermining it by open splits.

And, all too often, the Labour left has had only diffuse, slow-moving networks, and leaders more scared both of the right wing and of "the Trotskyists" than keen to mobilise the rank and file. A new left should change that.

Beyond the fragments of the Trotskyist movement

Paul Hampton reviews *The Two Trotskyisms confront Stalinism*, edited by Sean Matgamna

Why is the revolutionary left today in such a mess? Why are the politics of the SWP, the Socialist Party, the various Fourth Internationals and most of the splinters, grouplets and fragments so incoherent?

When did it start to go wrong for the classical Marxist tradition, which had reached such a flowering with Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks? And what were the alternatives, the roads not taken or barely trodden, which might help orientate Marxists today in the situation we start from? The AWL's new book, a second volume of documents from the early Trotskyist movement, goes a long way towards answering those questions.

The short answers are clear and deserve repetition. Between 1917 and 1923 working class movements could have taken power into their own hands and built socialist societies across the globe. The rise and development of Stalinism obliterated this generation of worker-militants. Although this was resisted by the tiny band of Trotskyists who remained true to the potential of the Russian workers' revolution of 1917, after 1940 many of those forces too succumbed to Stalinist and semi-Stalinist influence.

What was codified as "orthodox Trotskyism" after the Second World War — and even the British SWP comes from that stock — in fact largely collapsed into Stalinoid conceptions of socialism, revolution, the party and much else. This "orthodoxy" displaced the working class from the irreplaceable role as the self-conscious agency for its own emancipation — making Stalinist states, peasant armies, military despots and religious fanatics the substitute "progressive" force for the next stage — with the revolutionary left reduced to the role of critical satellite and supplement.

This book is part of a comprehensive AWL effort to understand the defeat of the working class and its socialist vanguard in the twentieth century. It is organised around three significant parts:

1. Further documentation and interpretation of the 1939-40 split in the Trotskyist movement;

2. The desperate course taken by the American SWP led by James Cannon during the war, which laid the basis for "orthodox" Trotskyism in the post-war period

3. The alternative course taken by the heterodox, Third Camp forces around Max Shachtman, which continued and developed the classical Marxist legacy of Trotsky into the new period.

Although the book includes other essays and documents of great interest, these three themes organise the texts and shed new light on this pivotal period.

1939-40

The AWL's book, *The Fate of the Russian Revolution, Volume 1* (1998) included a substantial selection of documents from the 1939-40 split in the American SWP, the most significant Trotskyist group in the world at the time. The new book adds to this record, for example by publishing the set-piece debate between Cannon and Shachtman.

This was a gladiatorial contest that suggests a higher level of political culture at the time on both sides of the debate, something the left today must learn again if it is to progress.

Long-forgotten documents show the responses of participants to the Russian invasion of Poland, then Finland and later the Baltic states. The divisions between Cannon's and Shachtman's factions are shown to be very different to the impression given by the two founding texts of "orthodox Trotskyism": *In Defence of Marxism* (a skewed selection of Trotsky's writings published by the "orthodox" in 1942) and Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

These books present Cannon's group as the consistent Trotskyists, united in their political assessment of the USSR as a workers' state and resolute in their political conclusions to defend the USSR. In reality they were heavily dependent on Trotsky's conjunctural and often mistaken analysis of swiftly moving events, unstable themselves on many issues, reluctant to engage the minority politically.

The short term result in 1939-40 was not a rational debate about the expansion of the USSR, its class nature or what political stance to take on its foreign policy. These matters were scarcely discussed adequately at all. Instead there was a botched, truncated debate, with the minority smeared as

"petty-bourgeois" and then expelled because it wanted to produce a public bulletin articulating its politics.

This split sparked the development of "apparatus Marxism" within the Trotskyist movement, combining the same political arbitrariness and organisational monolithism that Zinoviev had promoted in the Comintern in 1924-5, helping pave the way for Stalin's rise to dominance. Matgamna argues that apparatus Marxism is "a peculiarly rancid species of 'Marxism' from which everything 'objective', disinterested, spontaneous and creative is banished". Creativity is "incompatible with the prime function of 'Apparatus Marxism': rationalising for 'the party' and its apparatus. Creativity and, so to speak, spontaneity, is the prerogative of the all-shaping, suck-it-and-see empirical citizens who staff the 'Party' apparatus. Everything is thereby turned on its head". The history of the "orthodox" Trotskyist, or Cannonite, organisations is "a story shaped by this conception of the relationship of Marxism to 'the revolutionary party' — as a handmaiden of the apparatus". Apparatus Marxism is both "blind and sterile because it is not and cannot be a guide to honest analysis and to practice consistent with theory. It exists to rationalise a practice that is in fact guided by something else — usually, the perceived advantage of the organisation".

USSR

The Second World War in Europe began with the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, but turned with Hitler's invasion of the USSR in June 1941.

The reaction of the "orthodox" American SWP to this attack was to elevate "defence of the USSR" into a justification for illusion-breeding support for the USSR and a left cover for Stalinism.

The book documents a dreadful array of articles effectively supporting Stalin's regime which made a mockery of the anti-Stalinist politics the American SWP claimed to take from Trotsky. The "orthodox" lauded "Soviet patriotism", arguing that the "Soviet masses" were fighting to defend "gains from the October 1917 revolution", which had in fact long been extinguished. The Red Army's morale "astonished" its enemies, and showed "Soviet soldiers fight bravely because they have something worth defending".

SWP leaders claimed that it wasn't Stalin's Red Army, but Trotsky's! Trotsky had last led the Red Army in 1925, was expelled from Russia in 1929 and then killed by Stalin's agents in 1940. Trotskyists were incarcerated and murdered in Russia. The Russian officer corps was purged in the late 1930s. Yet the "orthodox" wrote that the Army was the institution "least affected" by Stalinist degeneration.

Cannon rebuked the party paper's editors, who had criticised the Red Army for standing outside Warsaw while the Nazi armies massacred the uprising in 1944. This was a million miles from Trotsky and authentic Marxism.

As the USSR turned the tide and defeated the Nazis, it seized large territories and countries. An SWP resolution in February 1946 advocated that workers in Eastern Europe "tolerate the presence of the Red Army" in the name of its alleged help in "the fulfilment of agrarian reform and the stateisation of the means of production".

As the USSR pillaged war torn Europe, displacing millions, imposing forced labour and its own puppets, the "orthodox" continued to fetishise "defence of the USSR" and eventually to conclude that the Stalinists had made "socialist" revolutions in Eastern Europe — without and against the working classes of those countries. For the "orthodox", the scratch had turned to gangrene.

The book would be demoralising if all it contained was the dismal record of beleaguered "orthodox" Trotskyists in the process of degeneration.

The great virtue of this selection is to show that a vibrant alternative existed at the time, articulating a coherent world view and one that could have helped generate a healthy revolutionary left into the post-war period.

Max Shachtman and his co-thinkers were not only politically astute; they were eminently readable and at times witty political satirists. Thus Shachtman in his debate with the Stalinist Earl Browder finished his contribution by mocking his opponent, previously a CP leader but one that had not been killed by Stalin. Shachtman's riposte: "There but for an accident of geography stands a corpse".

In another contribution, Shachtman exposed the nonsense of a "bureaucratic road to socialism".

He wrote: "I do not believe in the bureaucratic proletarian (socialist) revolution... I reject the concept not out of 'sentimental' reasons or a Tolstoyan 'faith in the people' but because I believe it to be scientifically correct to repeat with Marx that the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself... But the proletarian revolution cannot be made by others than the proletariat acting as a mass; therein, among other things, it is distinguished from all preceding revolutions. No one else can free it — not even for a day".

Shachtman exposed the dreadful conflations of Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's erudite biographer but a flawed interpreter of his politics. Deutscher was fascinated "by undiscriminating, uncritical and unthought out analogies between the bourgeois revolutions (the French in particular; but never the American, it is interesting to note) and the Bolshevik revolution". Worse, Deutscher regarded Stalin as carrying out proletarian revolution, albeit in a bureaucratic way. This was the root confusion that shattered the post-Trotsky Trotskyist left in the post-war period. Shachtman asserted that whereas countless social forces paved the way for capitalism, only workers can make socialism.

The book also sets out the kind of organisation Shachtman wanted workers to build. It is integral to the working class, open and democratic. The party determines its line from the careful and constantly revised assessment of reality. Democratic debate is the means through which the party and the class clarifies its perspectives and charts its course. Shachtman propagated a conception of party building close to the original classical Marxist-Bolshevik model and far from the semi-Stalinist sects created by the "orthodox" Trotskyists ever since.

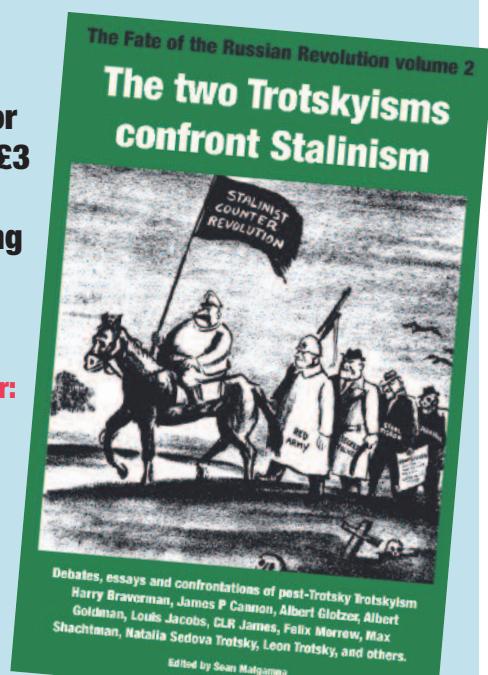
There is more to the book than can be expressed in a short review. It is teeming with debate and political clarity. It articulates the renewal of socialism and warns of the pitfalls. It demands careful reading and repays conscientious study. To revive Marxism, the book both diagnoses the ailment and proscribes the cure.

The debates may appear archaic, but learning from this period in our history is essential for the renewal of today's revolutionary Marxist left.

The two Trotskyisms confront Stalinism

Purchase from our website for £19.99 (+£3 postage), bulk buying discounts available.

Special offer: buy *Fate of the Russian Revolution volume 1* and this volume 2 together for £25



bit.ly/TwoTrotskyisms

John Burgess for General Secretary

By a Unison member

The Unison General Secretary election nomination process has begun. There are five candidates, including incumbent General Secretary Dave Prentis.

Workers' Liberty members and supporters in Unison are backing John Burgess, and so is the majority of the Unison Left NEC caucus. John is Barnet Local Government Branch Secretary; he has an impressive record of leading a series of fights against the so called "easycouncil" in Barnet and in defence of public services.

We encourage all Unison members to nominate John to ensure he reaches the 25 branch nominations needed to get on the ballot (he has 12 as we go to press).

DEMOCRACY

There is an enormous democratic deficit in Unison that will not be solved just by electing left-wingers to the NEC or as General Secretary.

As part of the election campaign it is important we continue to raise demands including, rank-and-file control of disputes, elected strike committees, defeating the anti-trade union laws, democratising the Labour link and then taking the fight to the Labour Party, pushing for greater branch resources and being creative in our action. John Burgess is on the right side of all these issues.

Dave Prentis, should he be elected, will be 72 when he steps down and will have been General Secretary since 2001 and Deputy General Secretary since 1993. He has consistently presided over a right-wing, undemocratic and arrogant bureaucracy that helped to destroy the 2011 pensions dispute and 2014 pay dispute. The candidature of Heather Wakefield, Unison Head of Local Government shows a split in the bureaucracy. It is not clear exactly what separates the two politically, though each are looking to blame the other for calling off the 2014 pay dispute. It is disappointing that

perennial General Secretary candidate, and Socialist Party member, Roger Bannister, has again insisted on standing despite attempts to find a united left candidate. Meetings of Unison United Left have attempted to agree on a single left candidate. Roger Bannister, Paul Holmes (NEC and Kirklees Branch Secretary), and Karen Reissman (NEC and Socialist Workers Party) all put themselves forward. Roger Bannister insisted that he would stand whatever the outcome of these meetings, thus trying to force the rest of the left to back him.

Reissman won a vote at a very unrepresentative hustings at national conference. However she has received widespread criticism for her role in the SWP's mishandling of a rape case. With the developments with Jeremy Corbyn's campaign for Labour leader, and the SWP's opportunistic support/non-support for Corbyn and the Socialist Party's commitment to still call for disaffiliation, some on the left continued to seek a single left candidate. John Burgess was approached and agreed to stand.

At Unison NEC John received 16 nominating votes to 32 for Dave Prentis, 4 for Roger Bannister, 1 for Hayley Garner (Southampton's Branch Secretary), and 0 for Heather Wakefield.

John is the candidate with the broadest left support.

We have a number of differences with John Burgess. We are also keenly aware that yet again the leading left challengers to Dave Prentis are men in a union that has 80% women members. There was a strong case in this election for a female, left, candidate.

However, we think that a campaign that boosts support for the union's rank-and-file and tackles Union's appealing lack of democracy, will involve a much wider base of the union's membership than is currently engaged.

• johnburgess4gensec.blogspot.co.uk

By Phil Grimm

On 4 September, workers striking against privatisation of services at the National Gallery handed in a petition signed by over 133,000 people.

The delivery of the petition was timed to mark the 80th day of strikes at the gallery. Around a hundred people gathered outside the gallery on Trafalgar Square to hand in the petition, which has garnered widespread support online.

Labour leadership candidate Jeremy Corbyn and left-wing backbench MP John McDonnell both sent messages of support and solidarity to the protest.

Gallery workers have been on indefinite strike since the start of August after 300 jobs were outsourced to the private security firm, Securitas. Picket lines are being held at the gallery from 9am to 11.30am every day as the strikes continue. At the time of writing, the strike has been ongoing for 28 days. The aim is to beat the privatisation before Securitas

takes over the jobs in November.

Workers' have been further angered by the way in which the bosses have been messing around with their wages during the strike. Management had previously agreed that workers' pay would only be docked from the month in which the strike began, in mid-August. Instead, when strikers' got their pays slips through this year, they found that all of their pay for August had been docked. Luckily, the union's strike fund has allowed workers to continue their strike in spite of this.

CLOSED

The strikes have meant that a lot of rooms at the National Gallery have been closed to the public.

The gallery has been operating on a much-diminished staff, relying on scab private security brought in from outside to keep it open.

While this has meant many disappointed tourists and art-lovers, there is reason to be confident that there is significant public



support for the stand the gallery workers are taking, not least thanks to the impressive number of signatures to the petition.

Mark Serwotka, PCS general secretary, said: "We do not believe the public want to see gallery services handed to a private security company."

Gallery workers themselves echo this belief, arguing that many visitors to the gallery value a service staffed by regular, long-term staff who know something about the art that is being exhibited.

Apart from the fight

against privatisation, the union is also campaigning for the reinstatement of its senior representative Candy Udwin, who was sacked shortly after strikes began after she made the bosses' plans for privatisation public.

An interim tribunal has found she was likely to have been sacked unlawfully for trade union activity in relation to the dispute, and she has won the right to full pay until her case is considered by a full tribunal.

Parking wardens strike for fair pay

By Gemma Short

Unison member working for NSL — Camden council's parking enforcement contractors — struck for better pay and conditions from 2-5 September.

Unison submitted a pay claim to take basic pay from £8.92 (currently below the London Living Wage) to £10.50 an hour. After extensive negotiations NSL refused to agree to a compromise from Unison

for £9.50 an hour. Unison members voted by 89% in favour of strikes to increase the pay offer.

Workers mounted pickets throughout the strike, and received support from other council workers as well as other trade unionists.

Traffic wardens have a hard job, in all weather, and often face abuse. They rightly feel they deserve to earn more than the £9.27 NSL has offered, only 12p above the London Living Wage.



Tube unions pull back from strikes

By Ollie Moore

London Underground unions withdrew strikes threatened for 8 and 10 September. Talks aimed at resolving disputes over job cuts, work/life balance, 24-hour running, and pay continue.

Union negotiators say they are making "progress" in talks, with London Underground backing off from threatened attacks to terms and conditions, particularly for station staff.

Unions are demanding increased staffing levels to distribute the burden of

anti-social shifts, workable rosters, and more recuperation time after night shifts.

The rank-and-file bulletin *Tubeworker* queried the suspension of an early planned strike, arguing that it took pressure off the employer.

The bulletin has also argued for members to be kept better informed about the details of negotiations, as well as for unions to retain a focus on job cuts as a key issue in the dispute.

• For updates, see workersliberty.org/twblog

Win at Pizza Express

After a campaign by activists with Unite, Pizza Express has scrapped its practice of deducting 8% of tips paid on credit cards.

The union organised nation-wide protests at Pizza Express stores and a 10,000 strong petition against the practice.

A planned protest for 3

September outside the chain's Baker Street, London, branch, with Sherlock Holmes as a guest, was turned into a victory party.

Unite is continuing its protest against working conditions at Sports Direct, and will be holding protests outside stores on Wednesday 9 September.



Corbyn: don't celebrate, organise!

By Colin Foster

"Don't mourn, organise", the American trade-union activist Joe Hill famously told his comrades in 1915 as he was railroaded to a firing squad on trumped-up murder charges.

If Jeremy Corbyn wins Labour leader on 12 September, we should flip that motto into "don't celebrate, organise!" And if he has a near miss, Joe Hill's original will do.

All the opinion polls since early August show Jeremy Corbyn ahead. They also show him more popular with voters in general than the other candidates.

Corbyn, an unassuming campaigner and supporter of workers' struggles for 40 years, has become the seed around which a surge of anti-capitalism, generated by the crashing and grinding of the system since 2008 but previously dispersed and almost "underground", has crystallised.

It will be wrong, terribly wrong, disastrous, if we think that once we've elected Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leader, then we can sit back and let ourselves be towed by the new leadership to a better future.

DEMOCRACY

The basic ideas of democracy, workers' rights, and social provision which Corbyn represents are not such as can prevail just by having a good advocate in the high ground of politics.

They can prevail only by determined and militant mobilisation of the rank and file.

A relatively "moderate" Labour right-winger, Luke Akehurst, has denounced Corbyn's supporters as "moving through the party like ISIS in their jeeps in Iraq". Decoded: he wants to demonise the Corbyn camp, and move against it as the US has moved against Isis. The *New Statesman* reports

that Corbyn "faces a significant number of Labour MPs not merely against him but actively out to get him".

Behind those MPs stand hundreds of "advisers", "researchers", spin-doctors, think-tank people and other careerists. And behind them, the billionaire media and the whole entrenched power of the ruling class. The smear and scare campaigns of the last couple of months — "Corbyn will make Labour unelectable" — are only the start.

They are the minority. A small minority. But compact and rich minorities win unless the working-class majority makes itself organised and compact, striking with a fist rather than flailing with limbs askew.

COOPERATE

Corbyn's advisers will tell him to go softly-softly, to woo the maximum number of right-wingers who may grudgingly cooperate for a while.

We've seen where that approach leads with Syriza's decision to form a coalition with the right-wing Ane, to elect a moderate right-winger president of Greece, and to invest in cajoling Hollande and Renzi and Lagarde to sway Schäuble towards less harsh EU policy.

Working-class, socialist majorities need to be made and sustained in dynamic action. Unless the Corbyn campaign presses on to transform the labour movement radically, it will be neutralised and then reversed by the entrenched power of the right wing. If Corbyn wins, we should press him to start by opening out the Labour Party conference at the end of September, allowing debate on rule-change reforms and political challenges usually stifled.

Already in some areas, like Sheffield, Corbyn supporters are organised into active, regularly-meeting

local groups. Elsewhere there have been only rallies and phone-banks without organising meetings. The first step should be to get local groups going everywhere — democratic, active, open to debate, geared both to campaigning on the streets and to transforming their local Labour Parties.

Transforming the unions, too. The great lesson of the last big ferment in the Labour Party, in the early 1980s, is that the left-talking union leaders who had let it happen, by supporting democratic reforms within Labour, also cut it short. Because no similar democratic reforms were made within the unions, the top union officials could meet with Labour's leaders in January 1982, at Bishops Stortford, plan to start reeling back the left-wing surge, and carry through the plan.

PRESSURE

The TUC congress assembles the day after the Labour leader election result is announced. Trade unionists should argue for it to raise the pressure on Labour.

Young supporters of Corbyn have a national conference for ongoing organisation on 20 September. We need a similar general conference as soon as possible.

The welling-up of revolt symbolised by Corbyn's success is also manifested in a schedule of demonstrations over the coming months unusually packed even for this busy time of the political year.

On 14 September, 4 October, and 2 November are protests against cuts and for the right to strike. The Right To Strike campaign is organising a contingent on the big TUC demonstration of 4 October in Manchester.

On 12 September and 17 October are protests for refugee rights.

On 18 September and 4 November are student



Jeremy Corbyn speaking to crowds who couldn't get into his rally in Newcastle

protests against tuition fees and for free education.

We need to have these protests not only big, but voicing clear, radical demands. Socialists must be there, organised, vocal, visi-

ble, with our demands to tax the rich and expropriate the banks.

The hard-core socialists, too, must discuss among ourselves, sharpen our ideas, step

up our organisation, encourage loose sympathisers to become regular activists. The Workers' Liberty annual conference is on 21-22 November.

An activist's diary

Saturday 12 September, noon: Refugees welcome here! National demonstration. Assemble Marble Arch. March to Downing Street. bit.ly/refug-w

Sunday 13 to Wednesday 16 September: TUC congress, Brighton

Monday 14 September, Protest against trade union bill second reading. 11am: Stunt with details to be confirmed, 6pm: Rally. Outside Parliament, London SW1A 0AA

Friday 18 September, noon: Grants not debt. Students protest and lobby MPs. Meet at Charing X station, The Strand, London. bit.ly/g-n-d

Sunday 20 September, noon: Youth and students for Corbyn conference. University College London, Cruciform Building, Gower St, London WC1E 6BT. Called by Labour Campaign for Free Education, Scottish Labour Young Socialists, LRC Youth and others. bit.ly/youth-l

Sunday 27 to Wednesday 30 September: Labour Party conference, Brighton

Sunday 4 October, noon: No to Austerity, Yes to Workers' Rights. TUC demonstration at the Tory party conference. Assemble on Oxford Road, Manchester, from All Saints Park southwards. bit.ly/tory-p. Right To Strike contingent: assemble outside Royal Northern College of Music, intersection of Oxford Road and Booth St. bit.ly/RtSDemo

Saturday 17 October, 1pm Dover, 2pm Calais: simultaneous demonstrations. Open Dover! Open Europe! bit.ly/dover-c

Monday 2 November, 1pm. TUC rally and lobby against new anti-union law. Central Hall, Westminster, Storey's Gate, London SW1H 9NH

Wednesday 4 November, 1pm: National demonstration for free education, London. anticuts.com/demo-nov-2015/

Saturday 21 to Sunday 22 November: Workers' Liberty conference, London

